AN

ADDRESS

ON

The Natural and Social Order of the World,

AS INTENDED TO PRODUCE UNIVERSAL GOOD;

DELIVERED BEFORE

The TAMMANY SOCIETY,

AT

THEIR ANNIVERSARY,

ON

The 12th of May, 1798.

FAIRE LE BIEN C'EST LE RECEVOIR.

BY

GEORGE LOGAN.

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An ADDRESS, &c.

Fellow Citizens,

WHILST we are prompted by a ſpirit of philanthropy to deſire the general happineſs of Mankind; ſound policy and juſtice dictate the neceſſity of promoting, in a more eſpecial manner, the proſperity, the happineſs and the independence of our fellow citizens. The law of Nature, as ſupported by reaſon, preſcribes to us this courſe, as the only juſt foundation of our own individual happineſs or ſafety.

The ancients, almoſt univerſally, agreed that Man was formed by Nature for ſociety, and therefore obliged to obſerve and practice whatever tends to the good of the community, of which he is a member. This comprehenſive rule was in all ages reſpected, until Hobbes, and other devoted ſlaves to Tyrants, broached the deteſtable opinion, that the ſtate of Nature, in reſpect to Man, is a ſtate of war; that conſequently all Men are enemies to each other, and that they are only to be governed by fear. This doctrine has been oppoſed by ſeveral eminent writers, and our obligation to render each other every friendly aſſiſtance has been eſtabliſhed on a more rational foundation. Dr. Sharrack, of Oxford, in the year 1660, publiſhed a valuable work, on the duties of Man, according to the law of Nature; he appears to be one of the firſt who attempted to ſupply the great defect complained of by Lord Verulam, "that due care had not been taken to eſtabliſh ſome certain principle for a foundation of morality." He conſidered that the end

of every worthy and virtuous action is to remove uneaſineſs, and enjoy a ſerene tranquillity. The learned and good Biſhop of Cumberland, ſome years afterwards, publiſhed a valuable treatiſe on the ſame ſubject ; in which he maintains that the greateſt benevolence of every rational agent towards all, forms the happieſt ſtate of every and of all, and is neceſſarily requiſite to the beſt ſtate to which Man can attain, and therefore, the common good is the ſupreme law.

The Earl of Shaftſbury conſidered the whole Univerſe as one ſyſtem, compoſed of infinite other leſſer ſyſtems, and theſe again of others. As our ſolar ſyſtem has its ſeveral orbs, each of which is another ſyſtem of itſelf: And whatever there may be in the reſt, in this of ours we know there are many ſyſtems, each made up of individuals, and every of theſe of different parts, each of which may be perfect in itſelf, conſidered as a part, as a perfect eye, hand, &c. but its uſe has reference to the whole, of which it is immediately a part; that to its greater, that again to another, and ſo on to the whole.

All thoſe luminous Bodies obſervable in the Heavens, however infinite in number, or diſtant, materially communicate with this Globe, and it is highly probable, that all and every of them contribute to the ſupport and carrying on the work of each other : And conſequently that they all make one univerſal whole ſyſtem ; they muſt all, therefore, be exactly proportioned and fitted each to the others' operations; for otherwiſe they muſt prove deſtructive one to the other, and produce the utmoſt confuſion.

We know that the Planets within our own ſyſtem have their projectile forces ſo ſuited to their gravities or attraction, as to perform their motions nearly in circles, which they do

with ſuch conſtancy, that all the eclipſes of the luminaries that were ever known to have happened, or that may hereafter happen, can be calculated to an hour with the ſame certainty, as thoſe of the preſent year.

In the animal and vegetable creation, every ſpecies is furniſhed with veſſels, glands, and liquids the beſt adapted to its kind and to the perfection of its exiſtence; accompanied, at the ſame time, with that uninterrupted conſtancy and unerring certainty, that there is ſcarcely any one ſpecies of animal or vegetable, as has ever been known with certainty to have exiſted on this Globe, but the ſame may be found at this day.

Such is the wonderful regularity of all Nature; that even the ſmalleſt particles of matter are ſo uniform in their operations, that the effects which they will produce under particular circumſtances are known *a priori*, although theſe particles are ſo ſmall that they eſcape all our ſenſes. A particle of light, which by a variety of experiments is aſcertained to be matter, is ſo inconceivably ſmall, that Dr. Barrow gave it as his opinion, that a particle of light is as much leſs than a grain of ſand as that grain is leſs than the whole world.

Thus, from the moſt ſtupendous immenſity, to the minuteſt particles that can be conceived,—order, proportion, fitneſs and congruity in the relation and government of all things univerſally prevail, and this order is eternal. Every thing in the creation is found relative to a certain end, and though infinitely varied among themſelves, are ſo managed and combined as to conſpire all to the general deſign of univerſal good.

When we conſider this beautiful order, eſtabliſhed in the phyſical world, it is impoſſible to believe for a moment, that

Man, deſigned the brighteſt ornament of the creation, ſhould forever remain deſtitute of moral and political knowledge, the wretched object of injury and oppreſſion. On the contrary, God himſelf declared the perfectibility of the nature of Man, when he appeared to Abram, and ſaid " I am the Almighty God, walk before me and be thou perfect." Our bleſſed Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, confirms this doctrine in a ſermon breathing a ſpirit of general philanthropy and replete with the warmeſt ſentiments of virtue, truth and juſtice. He ſays to his Diſciples, " be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in Heaven is perfect." This opinion of the ſtate of abſolute perfection and happineſs, deſigned for Man in this world, is not only ſupported by the powerful authority of the Holy Writings, but by Reaſon; which manifeſts to us, that the end which God had in view with regard to his Creatures, and particularly with reſpect to Man, was a ſtate of perfection and happineſs in this world. On whatever ſide we turn our eyes, we ſee nothing in nature which is not governed by laws proper to its exiſtence, and which is not organized in a manner to obey ſuch laws; to acquire every ſuccour which is agreeable to the nature of its being, or neceſſary to the mode of its exiſtence. Man is not neglected by his Creator: The gifts which to him are particular, and which give him the empire of the world, manifeſt that happineſs and proſperity are deſigned for him, and an order proper to enſure him the enjoyment of them.

However Mankind may differ in opinion, reſpecting the perfectibility of Human Nature, all agree in deploring its miſeries. This degraded ſtate of Man has been affected by the Executive Magiſtrates of all Countries; who have uniformly encroached on the liberties of the People, until ſuch times as they filched from them their Sovereignty, and re-

duced them to a ſtate of wretchedneſs. Wars created by ambitious Executives, have been undertaken more to their own aggrandizement and power, than for the protection of their Country. The People, involved in a ſtate of abject miſery by accumulated wrongs, and drove almoſt to a ſtate of deſperation,—are comforted with a promiſe of eternal happineſs, by intereſted Prieſts, who participate with the Government in the plunder of its Citizens.

To eſcape from this combination of outrage and deception, our anceſtors fled to the Wilderneſs of America ; where they might enjoy their religious and political opinions without inſult or injury. The native Indians gave them a kind reception, and at once permitted them to partake of all the advantages they enjoyed themſelves. Although William Penn, according to the unjuſtifiable cuſtom of Europe, received a grant from the King of England, of the territory of Pennſylvania, of which he was declared ſole proprietor ; yet, on his taking poſſeſſion, a ſpirit of juſtice and philanthropy, which in all his tranſactions marked his conduct through life, engaged him to purchaſe the ſoil from the Natives; by which means the colony was preſerved in peace, and flouriſhed. The only difficulties it had to encounter were occaſioned by the arbitrary regulations of the Britiſh Court, which interdicted our municipal regulations, obſtructed our progreſs in manufactures, and reſtricted our commerce ; by which means ſhe enjoyed a monopoly of the produce of our induſtry, highly injurious to this Country. Rouſed at length by repeated injuries, Pennſylvania, united with her ſiſter Colonies, and aſſiſted by the blood and treaſure of that brave and generous People, the French, we became a free, independent Republic. Having in this manner rejected the Government of Great Britain, and now united with our ſiſter States for mutual aid and protection,—it becomes the undoubted duty of every

Citizen of the United States, to give encouragement to the Mechanics, and Manufacturers of our Country; not by promoting prohibitory laws againſt the importation of Foreign Fabrics, but by calling our own manufactures into uſe; by which means we ſhall afford them the moſt ſubſtantial encouragement.

The local and phyſical advantages enjoyed by the United States, afford to her Citizens the means of being ſupplied within themſelves with moſt articles neceſſary or uſeful in life. This being an undeniable fact, it becomes criminal in her Citizens not to derive all the advantages in their power from circumſtances thus placed within their reach. Civil ſociety is ſo conſtituted, that its ſtate of proſperity and power ariſes from the independence and proſperity of its members, and as every Citizen affords his aid to ſupport its municipal regulations, by which the property of all is protected, it becomes not only the duty, but the intereſt, of every individual to promote the proſperity and independence of his Fellow Citizens. It is computed, that the Mechanics, and Manufacturers within the United States comprehend one twentieth part of our Citizens; that the Merchants, Agents, &c. compoſe one twentieth, and that eighteen twentieths are engaged in Agriculture. Thoſe Men whoſe inclinations lead them to Mechanic or Manufacturing occupations for a ſupport, and who have no deſire to engage in the cares and fatigues of a Country life, will conſider it for their advantage, that their Fellow-Citizens ſhould give a preference to the produce of their induſtry, over Foreign Manufactures. The Merchants, merely as Agents, no doubt conſider, that every kind of Mechanic and Manufacturing employ ſhould be diſcouraged within the United States, as agents equally intereſted in ſupporting the proſperity of the Foreign Manufacturer, as

the American Farmer; they ſhould rather be conſidered as Citizens of the World, than Citizens of any particular Commonwealth. To ſend Clay to England to be returned made into Bricks, Limeſtone into Lime, and Wheat into Flour, would not be more abſurd than the practice we have been in, for many years, of exporting our Flax-Seed, Iron and Furs to Europe, to be returned in a variety of Manufactured Articles, equally capable of being fabricated amongſt ourſelves. Exporting all your Raw Materials to Europe, to be manufactured, would create a great degree of buſtle at our ſea-ports; would create a great quantity of ſhipping and would increaſe the buſineſs and wealth of the Merchants, but it would certainly add nothing to the actual wealth or independence of our Country.

The Farmers, comprehending eighteen-twentieths of the People of the United States, are ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that they can manufacture, immediately from their own Farms, all the Woollen and Linen Cloth neceſſary in their families, and at a cheaper rate than any imported; taking into conſideration the ſuperior quality of the Domeſtic Manufacture, for real uſe, and the time and labour beſtowed and ſaved by the family. Independent of this important fact, it is the peculiar intereſt of the Farmers, that they ſhould give every encouragement to the Mechanics, and Manufacturers of the United States; by which they may procure a certain and ſteady market at their own doors, for the ſurplus produce of their induſtry; which could not be interrupted by Foreign competition, or deſtroyed by the impolitic meaſures of our own Executive Government, or by the arbitrary laws of foreign Countries. The labour of the Citizens of the United States, actually engaged in Manufactures, can-to be procured at the low rate of that of the Subjects of

England, either in Europe, or in India; nor ſhould it be looked for by any man who values the real independence of his country. An exchange, for the mutual advantage of the parties, ought to be ſupported by juſtice. Every manufacturer ſhould have ſuch an equivalent for his labour as to enable him to live with comfort; to educate his children and to preſerve ſomething for the ſupport of his family in caſe of unavoidable accident. This is ſo far from being the caſe in the Britiſh dominions, from whence we derive moſt of our manufactures, that but a ſmall number of the workmen receive an adequate compenſation for their labour.

In rewarding their exertions or ingenuity no rule of equity is attended to; on the contrary, a combination takes place to reduce the wages of the manufacturer to a ſcanty ſubſiſtence. From the tendereſt infancy they are doomed to perpetual labour, and have no time, even in childhood, for the neceſſary exerciſe of the body, or the cultivation of the mind. Thus the poor man, upon whoſe induſtry depends the ſo much boaſted extent of Britiſh manufactures is, by the force of arbitrary regulations, obliged to ſuch exceſſive toil, that he is reduced to a mere animal exiſtence, having no intereſt in the proſperity of his country, or as little capable of ſerving it in time of danger.

In Britiſh India, Mr. Bolts and Colonel Dow concur in opinion reſpecting the ſevere treatment the manufacturers experience.* "The aſſent of the poor weaver is, in general, not deemed neceſſary to the bargain, for the gomaſtahs or agents, when employed in the company's inveſtments, frequently make them ſign what they pleaſe and; upon the weavers refuſing to take the money offered, it has been known that they have had it tied in their girdles, and they have been ſent away with a flogging. A number of thoſe weavers are alſo gene-

* Bolts' India Affairs, page 193—194.

rally regiſtered in the books of the company's gomaſtahs, and not permitted to work for any others, being transferred from one to another, like ſo many ſlaves, and ſubject to the roguery of every ſucceeding gomaſtah. The winders of raw ſilk have been treated alſo with ſuch injuſtice, that inſtances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind ſilk." By ſuch horrid outrages, againſt the rights of millions of our fellow creatures, do we become furniſhed, at ſo cheap a price, with the manufactures of the Britiſh dominions.

The preſent gloomy appearance of our public affairs has no doubt been occaſioned by the Citizens of the United States having too much neglected the repreſentative principles of the federal government, and looking up to one man for the ſalvation of our country. Similar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects to the end of time. Whenever men, by the abuſe of that free will, given to them by the author of the univerſe for their own well-being, make uſe of it to deſtroy the natural order of things, in the moral and phyſical world, confuſion and diſtreſs muſt be the conſequence. When that highly favored people, the Jews, ſought a king to rule over them, God conſidered it not as an offence againſt Samuel and their Elders, but againſt himſelf; as manifeſting a deſire to follow the corruptions of other nations, and to pervert the natural order which he had eſtabliſhed for the good of the univerſe. He therefore gave them a king in his wrath, who was a curſe to them, as kings have been a curſe to mankind from that day to the preſent time. The kingly power, after having been a ſcourge to Europe for ages, is now, by the light of the American and French revolutions, coming to an end. It is devoutly to be wiſhed, that the citizens of the United States may be upon their guard not to ſuffer even the appearance of kingly

authority to return amongſt us to blaſt the fair proſpects of our revolution. The liberty of our country muſt be ſupported on the foundation of that equality, aſcertained by the laws of the creation, ſupported by the goſpel, which acknowledges no diſtinction of bond or free. Self-intereſt may oppoſe, and ſophiſtry may cavil, but equality, in its rational acceptation, as relating to civil privileges and impartial laws, gives dignity to the human character and prompts it to acts worthy of its origin.

Finally, republicans, let it be our ſtudious care to vindicate the rights of oppreſſed humanity and to remove the falſe impreſſions of all unjuſt diſtinctions. Let us cultivate the principles of philanthropy, juſtice and equality, which are altogether incompatible with thoſe ſyſtems of oppreſſion and injuſtice, which for a length of time have darkened the face of the European world.

Let us not precipitately endeavour to accompliſh that to day, which the diſſemination of truth will make unavoidable to-morrow: Let us not anxiouſly watch for occaſions and events; the aſcendency of truth is independent of events. Let us anxiouſly refrain from violence; force is not conviction, and is extremely unworthy of the cauſe of juſtice: Let us admit into our boſoms neither contempt, animoſity, reſentment nor revenge. The cauſe of juſtice is the cauſe of humanity; its advocates ſhould overflow with univerſal good will. We ſhould love this cauſe; for it conduces to the general happineſs of mankind. We ſhould love it; for there is not a man that lives, who, in the natural and tranquil progreſs of things, will not be made happier by its approach.

BRITISH MUSEUM

END.